DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 217 488 CS 207 051

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TITLE Psychographics Made Simple [and] Newspaper Readership and Proximity to Metropolitan Markets. American Newspaper Publishers Association (ANPA) News Research Report No. 34.
INSTITUTION American Newspaper Publishers Association, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE 18 Jun 82
NOTE 10p.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Comparative Analysis; *Measurement Techniques; *Media Research; *Newspapers; News Reporting; *Research Methodology; Rural Areas; State Surveys; *Television; Urban Areas
IDENTIFIERS Audience Analysis; *Psychographics; *Readership Analysis

ABSTRACT

The first article in this report discusses how psychographic measures can be used to describe newspaper readers' life styles and to distinguish readers of different newspapers in a market. It reports the findings of a study revealing that in three markets, different psychographic profiles emerged for readers of morning and afternoon newspapers. The second article details a statewide survey of newspaper readership in nonmetropolitan areas in Tennessee, revealing that newspaper readers in counties adjacent to major metropolitan areas found the newspaper news reporting to be more trustworthy than that of television. It also reports that these readers were more apt than were readers in more remote counties to rate newspapers' news coverage as more thorough than television's, and that metropolitan area readers were more affluent and more likely to be regular readers of entertainment news than were rural readers. (FL)

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American Newspaper Publishers Association

ANPA NEWS RESEARCH REPORT

FROM THE ANPA NEWS RESEARCH CENTER No. 34 June 18, 1982

A REPORT FOR EDITORS PROVIDED IN COORDINATION WITH THE NEWSPAPER READERSHIP COUNCIL

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Psychographics Made Simple

By Philip Meyer

HIGHLIGHTS: Psychographic measures can be used to describe newspaper readers' life styles and to distinguish the readers of different newspapers in a market. In three markets with both morning and evening newspapers, this research found different psychographic profiles for A.M. and P.M. readers in each market.

Newspaper Readership and Proximity to Metropolitan Markets

By Jerry R. Lynn

HIGHLIGHTS: A statewide survey of newspaper readership in non-metropolitan markets in Tennessee reveals that newspaper readers in counties adjacent to major metropolitan areas find the newspaper more trustworthy than TV. Also, they are more apt than readers in more remote counties to rate the newspaper as more thorough than TV. Metro-adjacent readers are more affluent and more likely to be regular readers of entertainment news.

CS207051

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Psychographics Made Simple

By Philip Meyer

Philip Meyer was director of news and circulation research, Knight-Ridder Newspapers, when this report was prepared for the spring 1981 meeting of the Newspaper Research Council. He is now William Rand Kenan Jr. Professor of Journalism, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

We all love psychographics. They make it possible to reduce large and complex populations to a few simple types which imagination can see as flesh and blood personalities instead of numerical abstractions. The fact that these reductions are gross oversimplifications is not really a disadvantage. Everyone who writes or edits for a newspaper keeps a picture in his head of the person who will be reading the written product.

For my high school journalism teacher, that mythical target was a 12-year-old child. If the child could understand what we wrote, she told us, most other people could too. Edwin A. Lahey advised his correspondents in Washington to "write for people who move their lips when they read." And there was the Omaha milkman, immortalized by a United Press correspondent named William Shepherd who wrote a widely admired account of a factory fire in New York in 1911, and explained, "I just write for the milkman in Omaha. I figure if he can understand what I am writing, then everybody can understand it."[1]

Today's editors know, however, that a single reader stereotype is no longer sufficient. Newspapers follow a strategy of market segmentation which calls for them to simultaneously appeal to many different kinds of readers, each looking for different kinds of information and service in the newspaper. The newspaper edited for a single reader type will miss many of the special interests.

On the other hand, it is not possible to maintain a mental image of all possible audience segments when decisions are made about the allocation of news space. Some reduction of data is necessary. Editors need a concept that is simpler than the vast array of potential segments, but more complicated than the Omaha milkman. Psychographic classification of the audience offers some hope of providing such a workable concept.

Groups vs. Factors

Most psychographic studies are anything but simple. The availability of high-powered computer techniques and elegant mathematical models tempts researchers to squeeze more apparent meaning from survey data than may be justified by the data's validity. Moreover, the techniques frequently used often produce solutions that are too unstable to permit comparisons across time or across markets. Factor analysis, a data reduction tool, has been abused by analysts who confuse factors with groups of people.[2] In psychographic applications, there are groups of people with similar characteristics, while factors are groups of attributes which tend to apply to the same people. One might, for example, conduct both kinds of analyses on a population of real and imaginary adventures in literature. An analysis might show the following to be members of the same group:

Lawrence of Arabia
Robinson Crusoe
Coronado
Don Quixote

An R-type factor analysis, on the other hand, might tell us that certain attributes go together:

hot
dusty
sunburned
thirsty

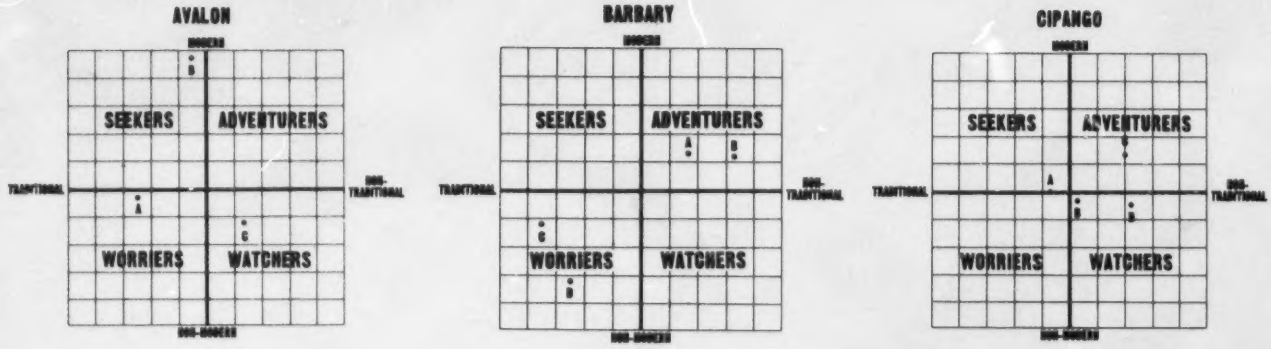
It is the same data looked at in different ways. R-type factor analysis is generally easier to use. Most computer statistical packages have it, and there are well-established rules for the definition of factors. The most common applications produce factors that are not highly correlated with one another, which helps to reassure the researcher that each one is measuring some unique underlying attribute. But because the factors are uncorrelated, sorting people into mutually exclusive categories based on each person's degree of identification with the different factors is like saying a person is fatter than he is smart. It may sound profound at first, but because intelligence and body weight are different dimensions, it takes only a moment's reflection to realize that the statement makes no sense.

A Simpler Way

This report describes a simpler way to use factor analysis as a tool for classifying people. It was developed in a series of projects for various newspapers in the Knight-Ridder group, whose cities will be identified in this report with the fictitious names Avalon, Barbary and Cipango. It is the result of an effort to find a psychographic classification scheme which is simple and meets three other tests:

1. The measurement should be objective enough to be replicable for comparisons across time and across markets.
2. The definitions should be intuitively sensible.
3. The categories should discriminate between readers of different newspapers.

The project began with secondary analysis of a supplier's study of newspaper readers in Avalon. Respondents told interviewers whether they agreed strongly,



agreed, disagreed, or disagreed strongly to each of 84 statements. Readers unfamiliar with this sort of inquiry can get the flavor of such items from Daniel M. Wegner's "hidden brain-damage scale:"[3]

I never liked room temperature

Pudding without raisins is no pudding at all.

Walls impede my progress.

Armenians are comical in full-battle dress.

While Wegner and his friends claimed to have been kidding, the items used in serious psychographic research sometimes have the same mad ring. The 84 variables in the Avalon study were reduced to five factors using one of the usual pre-packaged computer programs.[4]

This is the point at which it is healthy to deprive factor analysis of some of its mystique. The five factors can be treated simply as scales. Scaling is something researchers do when more precision is needed than is available from a single survey question. By asking several questions on the same subject, we increase the probability that we are measuring what we think we are measuring. These questions form scales, and the skeptical investigator can verify that all the items in a scale measure approximately the same thing by ascertaining that the items are intercorrelated, i.e., a respondent's answer to one of the items is likely to be consistent with his or her answers on the others.

Factor analysis, as applied here, is nothing more than a quick method of finding scales. The computer sorts individual questionnaire items into factors, each factor measures approximately the same thing, and the factors are listed neatly. To make things even neater, we give these factors names and treat them as variables. In this project, the factors were named Coping, Cosmopolitanism, Losing, Modernism and Traditionalism.

Choosing Factors that Discriminate

The next step was to see which, if any, factors discriminated between readers of different newspapers in the Avalon market. To make the distinction clear-cut, newspaper readers were divided into three mutually exclusive groups according to the newspaper that each individual read the most. Those who read two papers equally were left out of this part of the analysis. Table 1 shows how the average reader of each newspaper scored on each factor. We were particularly interested in factors that would discriminate between readers of paper A and paper C. The factors that performed this service the most effectively were Modernism and Traditionalism.

Table 1

Mean Factor Scores for Readership Groups
Version 1—with 84 Variables

	A	B	C
Modernism 1	-.0228	.2961	-.0639
Traditionalism 1	.0504	.2078	-.1164
Losing 1	-.0898	.2128	-.0920
Coping 1	.0202	-.0386	.0379
Cosmopolitanism 1	.1138	-.3289	.1128

At this point, because we had long-range applications of the method in mind, we asked ourselves whether it was really necessary to burden respondents with 84 different agree-disagree questions to produce this result. We therefore isolated the five variables with the strongest association with each of the five factors, and discarded the rest, thus narrowing the original list of 84 variables to 25.

When the shortened list was run through the factor analysis program, the same factors were produced. Once again, the Modernism and Traditionalism factors proved to be the best discriminators between readers of paper A and paper C. As a further check, correlation coefficients were calculated between the long- and short-form factor scores. There was high correlation. This knowledge would enable us to cut respondent burden (and field costs) when we took the procedure to Barbary and Cipango.

Defining Reader Types

Now that we know that Modernism and Traditionalism help to identify the readers of different newspapers, it is time to look at the substance of these indicators. The statements which define *Modernism* deal with contemporary behavior:

There are situations where sex outside of marriage can be a healthy thing.

I like to think I'm a bit of a swinger.

I would like to live in a foreign city, like Paris, for a year.

Sometimes I say or do things just to shock people.

I'm really basically a "night" person.

The five statements which define *Traditionalism* deal with nostalgia and traditional roles for women:

I often wish for the good old days when life was simpler.

Young people have too much freedom today.

There is too much emphasis on sex today.

A woman's place is in the home.

Women's lib has gone too far.

Now we can classify each respondent as high or low on each of the two factors, using the median score—or as close to the median as we can get—as the cutting point. For the sake of further simplicity, these scores are obtained by simple arithmetic. Strong agreement is given the value of 4, agreement 3, disagreement 2, and strong disagreement 1. By averaging each respondent's score for each factor, we get a range of values from 1-4. (When data is missing, the respondent is scored according to his average on the non-missing values.)

The cutting points in Avalon (later applied to other cities when we wanted to make cross-market comparisons) are between 2 and 2.25 for Modernism and between 2.5 and 2.67 for Traditionalism. These divisions produced four categories:

1. High Modernism, high Traditionalism
2. High Modernism, low Traditionalism
3. Low Modernism, low Traditionalism
4. Low Modernism, high Traditionalism

The Lifestyle Groups

Do these categories make intuitive sense? By considering the substantive meaning of the individual items in the two scales we can try to discern the meaning of the categories and even give them names. People in the first group, high Modernism and high Traditionalism, appear to be living in conflict. They want to do adventurous things, like living in a foreign city or doing things to shock people, but they also wish for the good old days when life was simpler. They give qualified approval to sex outside of marriage, yet believe there is too much emphasis on sex today. They seem to be trying to find themselves. Let's call them "*Seekers*."

The second group, high Modernism and low Traditionalism, is more consistent. Its members are forward-looking, adventurous, rejecting the old values while adopting the new, and they are ready to take risks. Label them "*Adventurers*."

In the third group, low Modernism with low Traditionalism, we find people free of the older values and yet too cautious to be tempted by the unconventional or risky. Perhaps they are ready to move forward, but they are careful and they appear to be quiet, unspectacular achievers. Tag them "*Watchers*."

Finally, we have those low in Modernism and high in Traditionalism. These people are the consistent, opposite number of the *Adventurers*. They don't want to take chances or do things differently or cope with modern life. They are bothered by sex, women's lib, and the freedom of young people. They must worry a lot. And so they are the "*Worriers*."

We thus have two dimensions defining four mutually exclusive categories. If the two dimensions were completely uncorrelated, we would expect the number of people in each of the four cells to be about the same. Because there is slight negative correlation, the cells defined by conflicting attitudes are somewhat smaller. Here is the distribution in Avalon in 1977:

Seekers	16%
Adventurers	33
Worriers	31
Watchers	20
	100%

In Avalon, the average reader of each of the newspapers falls into a different quadrant (Figure 1). For the strategic planner, the empty space where the *Adventurers* are defined may represent a marketing opportunity. None of the three papers has clearly established a predominant appeal to that audience.

A Worthy Audience

Is this audience worth appealing to? Examination of the demographics of the four groups suggest it is.

In Avalon, the *Adventurers* were found most fre-

quently in the 18-34 age group. They were high in education and tended to be professionals, executives, or students. They had more than their proportionate share of single people, and incomes were high. Many came from households of more than one wage earner.

From other research we know that this is the group which accounts for much of the loss in readership since the late 1960s. An editor whose typical readers are found in the other three quadrants might well consider how to change the product's image to appeal to this group.

The other categories also had distinctive demographics. *Seekers* tended to come from the young-middle-aged groups, persons who had not graduated from college, skilled workers and craftsmen, and low-to-middle income households. They included a disproportionate number of single males.

Worriers came from the older age brackets and lower education groups. Homemakers were over-represented as were Catholics and Protestants. They were more likely to be widowed or divorced. Incomes were low with a disporportionate share of one-person households and unemployed persons.

The *Watchers* were mainly young-middle-age and older and came from all but the very lowest educational attainment levels. They had a somewhat disproportionate share of homemakers and other married females.

So far, this psychographic description of the Avalon newspaper market appears to meet two of the three tests which we had set out to meet. The definitions are intuitively satisfying, and they do discriminate between readers of different newspapers.

In Other Markets

But are they transferable to other markets?

To effect such a transfer, we need two things. One is some reassurance that the same items, factor analyzed from samples of other populations, will continue to produce the same factors. The other is that the four categories of readers do not depend on the peculiarities of a given market.

The latter test is easily met by using the standardized cutting points. But for the former test, we must repeat the factor analysis in each new market. This was done. The reduced list of 25 life-style items was used in a survey of the adult population of Barbary in 1979. When these items were factor-analyzed, the Modernism and Traditionalism factors emerged with clarity equal to that found in Avalon.

Thus encouraged, we discarded all of the items from the original list except for the bare minimum of 10 needed to define Traditionalists and Moderns. To enrich the stew, we added some other items of particular interest to the Cipango market and ran a survey there in 1980. Once again, the five Modernism items clustered on the same factor, and the five Traditionalism items clustered on another factor, verifying yet again the internal consistency of each scale. The average scores are shown for each market in Table 2.

Table 2

Average Scores in the Three Markets

	Avalon	Barbary	Cipango
Modernism	2.12	2.21	1.93
Traditionalism	2.71	2.60	2.55

Barbary ranked significantly higher in Modernism and lower in Traditionalism than Avalon, while Cipango was lower on both dimensions than either of the two other cities. These differences are not inconsistent with what is otherwise known about geographic and cultural differences among the three locations. When Barbary and Cipango residents are classified according to each city's own mean, a psychological map can be plotted for each city to give some guidance to editors and strategic planners (Figures 2 and 3). The Barbary map shows two morning newspapers (A and B) in the *Adventurer* quadrant and two afternoon papers (C and D) in the *Worrier* quadrant. Because papers A and C were produced by the same people in the belief that they were serving the same audience, this finding was considerably enlightening to the editors. The fact that newspaper A was also quite close on the map to its rival, newspaper B, had some significance for strategists who had been considering how best to position it for the competitive battle.

In the case of Cipango, newspapers A and B, under one ownership, are shown to be quite centrist in their appeal, as contrasted to C and D, under a different ownership, which appealed to more distinctive segments. In every case, the strategic implications are fairly straightforward. The validity of the method is affirmed by the fact that the four psychographic groups are associated with the same demographics in each of the three markets. *Adventurers* are consistently the young, upwardly-mobile, working people. *Watchers* are always older and more conservative. *Seekers* tend to be lower-income, less-educated, working people. And *Worriers* are aging, downscale and disproportionately female.

If this is so, why not analyze the audience by demographics alone? Leo Bogart has warned that attempts to classify market segments by psychological characteristics "often end up merely as restatements of age or social class differences."[5] However, the psychographic restatements are far more interesting and appealing to decision makers. An editor can take the test and calculate his or her Modernism and Traditionalism scores and find a self-image on the psychological map. Awareness of the distance between the editor and the readers on that map is made easy by the map's graphic power.[6] The self-administered form of the test has never failed to provoke lively discussion at management seminars. □

Footnotes

[1]In the 1950 novel by UP veteran Reynolds Packard, this mythical figure became "the Kansas City milkman."

[2]For a discussion of this point, see David W. Stewart, "The Application and Misapplication of Factor Analysis in Marketing Research," *Journal of Marketing Research*, February 1981.

[3]Daniel M. Wegner, "Hidden Brain Damage Scale," *American Psychologist*, February 1979.

[4]SPSS, R-type, principal factoring with iteration, Varimax rotation.

[5]Leo Bogart, "Psychology on a Large Scale: The Study of Consumption," *American Psycholgoist*, November 1973.

[6]For the benefit of the statistically-oriented user, the points denoting means on the map can be surrounded by circles (or ellipses) showing the range of the standard error. In Cipango, the circles for A and B would nearly touch, indicating a difference 1 of low significance.

Newspaper Readership and Proximity to Metropolitan Markets

By Jerry R. Lynn

Dr. Lynn is professor and head of the advertising sequence at the College of Journalism, Marquette University.

Describing the newspaper audience and its readership patterns continues as a high priority research objective in the industry. Community characteristics have shown particular promise in this regard.[1] This report adds another dimension—proximity to major metropolitan markets—to our understanding of the relationship between community type and newspaper perceptions and use.

This report, based upon a statewide study sponsored by the Tennessee Press Association, examines distinctions between newspaper readers living in counties adjacent to major metropolitan markets and those in traditional non-metropolitan communities.

The study offers two additional differentiations:

1) it is based upon non-metro data from farm, rural non-farm and small town communities rather than the customary data from urban readers,

2) the data is broadly based geographically rather than from a few isolated communities.

Findings in Brief

• Newspaper readers in adjacent and non-adjacent counties are comparable with regard to age, education, sex and past voting behavior. However, socio-economic status (SES) and, in particular, income, favors the metro-adjacent newspaper reader.

• Newspaper readership in general, and of most specific types of content, is similar in adjacent and non-adjacent counties. However, as might be expected, combined readership of local and metro-area newspapers is significantly higher among metro-adjacent readers. Also, readership of two entertainment-related items, comics and TV log/entertainment, is significantly greater in adjacent counties.

• Although both groups of readers are presently satisfied with the cost of their newspaper, a large minority (41 percent) report being only "somewhat" satisfied with the price of their newspaper.

• Both types of readers favor TV for accuracy, timeliness, usefulness, objectivity and enjoyableness. However, the newspaper is coveted for thoroughness by both groups of readers. There is mixed reaction to the trustworthiness of media with readers adjacent to metro markets giving clear preference to newspapers, while non-adjacent readers give a slight edge to TV.

Methodology

These data are based on telephone interviews with 1,487 randomly-selected residents in all 91 non-metropolitan counties in Tennessee. Subtract-a-digit method[2] was used to reach unlisted numbers. The sampling error was less than 3 percent and the response rate was 81 percent. As the study was non-metropolitan by design, four metro counties in Tennessee—Shelby (Memphis), Davidson (Nashville), Knox (Knoxville) and Hamilton (Chattanooga)—were excluded. The data are from the 21 counties adjacent to the four metro markets and from the 70 non-adjacent counties.

Of the demographic characteristics, only socio-economic status (SES) and income are significantly related to metro-area proximity. Since other individual demographic characteristics, particularly education, were not distinguishing factors in this study, it would seem that income is an artifact of access to higher income-producing jobs in nearby metro counties or adjacent counties. Higher income of readers adjacent to metro counties could have a bearing on newspaper advertising impact in those areas (more than 25 percent of the adjacent-county readers report income of $20,000 or more).

Other than income, demographic quality of the newspaper audience is very similar, regardless of proximity to metro markets. Aside from a potentially greater advertising potential in adjacent counties, there are no demographic characteristics which suggest differences in editorial impact or effectiveness.

Newspaper Readership Patterns

Newspaper readership in general (dailies or non-dailies) is relatively high (77 percent) in all non-metropolitan counties, and there is no statistical difference between counties adjacent or not adjacent to metro markets. Table 1 shows that the same is true of the readership of specific items such as local, state and national news, editorials, advertising, sports news, business, society and religious news and letters to the editor.

However, combined reading of metro and local newspapers is significantly higher among metro-adjacent newspaper readers. Readership of two soft-news content items, comics and TV log/entertainment are significantly related to metro-area proximity.

Comics are not particularly important to either group (readership is reported by only 46 percent of all readers), but those adjacent to metro markets are far more likely to read them.

TV log/entertainment has substantially greater readership (72 percent overall) but, again, readers adjacent to metro markets report greater usage.

Table 1

Newspaper Readership Patterns and Proximity to Major Metro Areas

	Adjacent County	Non-Adjacent County	Both
Newspaper Reader	78.5%**	75.8%	76.6%
Metro *and* Local Newspaper Reader*	73.3	54.9	60.8
Read Front Page	96.5	97.9	97.5
Read National News	82.6	79.6	80.5
Read State News	89.1	88.9	88.9
Read Comics*	51.5	43.0	45.7
Read Want Ads	57.9	62.6	61.1
Read Editorials	69.5	70.6	70.3
Read Display Ads	75.7	78.2	77.4
Read Sports	58.2	52.3	54.2
Read Letters to Editor	65.0	66.6	66.1
Read Business News	51.2	55.7	54.3
Read Society News	50.0	54.0	52.7
Read TV Log/Entertainment News*	76.7	69.5	71.8
Read Religious News	64.3	61.9	62.7
Read Local Government News	77.3	78.0	77.7

*Significantly related with proximity to metro area.
**This is the percentage of persons responding "yes" to each readership question.

These two content-usage differences may be another artifact of proximity to major markets and, importantly, access to metro newspapers. More than 70 percent of the metro-adjacent readers report readership of *both* local and metro newspapers. Comic sections and entertainment news are probably more comprehensive in metro-area newspapers and, of course, access to the newspapers *and* to the entertainment/TV reception favors those who live near metro areas.

Newspaper Perceptions

More than 90 percent of the readers reported satisfaction with the current price of their newspaper. However, in both adjacent and non-adjacent areas, a large minority are only "somewhat" satisfied with their current subscription rates.

Table 2

Newspaper Perceptions and Proximity to Major Metro Area

Attitudes	Adjacent County	Non-Adjacent County	Total
Satisfied With Cost			
Very	53.0%	48.3%	49.8%
Somewhat	39.1	42.7	41.6
No	6.5	7.1	6.9
Don't know	1.4	1.8	1.7
Accurate Medium			
Newspapers	30.8	28.2	29.0
TV	36.8	41.0	39.7
Radio	3.6	3.4	3.5
Magazines	4.9	5.1	5.1
Don't Know	23.9	22.2	22.8
Most Timely Medium			
Newspapers	20.9	18.5	19.3
TV	53.9	57.3	56.2
Radio	11.1	11.5	11.4
Magazines	3.4	3.3	3.4
Don't Know	10.7	9.4	9.8
Useful Medium			
Newspapers	39.4	37.7	38.3
TV	40.5	43.7	42.7
Radio	9.4	8.2	8.5
Magazines	2.8	2.7	2.7
Don't Know	7.9	7.8	7.8
Most Objective Medium			
Newspapers	26.0	23.1	24.0
TV	29.6	29.0	29.2
Radio	5.3	7.5	6.8
Magazines	10.4	9.7	9.9
Don't Know	28.6	30.8	30.1
Most Thorough Medium			
Newspapers	51.7	42.1	45.1
TV	21.6	28.2	26.1
Radio	2.6	2.5	2.5
Magazines	8.5	10.0	9.5
Don't Know	15.6	17.3	16.8
Most Enjoyable Medium			
Newspapers	27.4	21.5	23.4
TV	56.4	61.0	59.6
Radio	4.9	4.0	4.3
Magazines	5.3	6.1	5.9
Don't Know	6.0	7.4	6.9
Most Trustworthy Medium			
Newspapers	37.7	29.5	32.1
TV	29.6	31.2	30.7
Radio	4.3	5.0	4.8
Magazines	4.5	5.4	5.1
Don't Know	24.0	28.8	27.2

In other perceptual areas reported in Table 2, the newspaper is most vulnerable to TV in the areas of "timeliness" and "enjoyableness." These perceptions are clearly based upon, respectively, the technical characteristics and substantive thrusts of the two media. There is little that can be done—short of major changes in technology or in philosophical purpose of the newspaper—to counteract these perceptions.

However, other areas, notably "usefulness," "objectivity" and "accuracy," while slightly favoring TV in these data, offer opportunities to newspapers for improvement because none pose either technological or substantive barriers. And, indeed, TV does not possess an insurmountable perceptual edge over newspapers in these categories.

Newspapers were perceived as far more "thorough" than TV (45 to 26 percent) and somewhat more "trustworthy" (32 to 30 percent). Readers in metro-adjacent counties are particularly impressed with the thorough and trustworthy coverage of newspapers.

Implications

These data should be useful to editors and publishers of newspapers in non-metro communities, communities in counties adjacent to metro markets, and major cities. In the first two cases, these data offer insights into non-metro audience characteristics, readership patterns, and perceptions of newspapers and other media. In the latter instance, this report provides a view of these variables to metro-area newspapers which have substantial readership outside of their primary markets.

From an editorial perspective, these data suggest that a wide range of content, not just local news and sports, is read by all non-metro audiences.

The comics are more important perhaps to adjacent-county audiences due to greater use in metro newspapers, but they are not generally high readership items and there is no strong impetus in these data for major changes in this section of the non-metro newspaper. The same is true of TV log/entertainment news. Higher levels of readership among adjacent-county readers probably reflect access to metro-based theatres, TV programs and other entertainment facilities. Newspapers in metro areas and in counties adjacent to them should offer comprehensive TV/entertainment material, but it would not seem warranted to greatly increase these materials in newspapers serving non-metro audiences beyond the reach of a major city.

Regarding satisfaction with subscription rates, non-metro audiences seem rather ambivalent at the present time with almost half of the readers only "somewhat satisfied." Undue increases, particularly in non-adjacent counties, would not seem wise. Of course, subscription price decisions in other areas should not be based upon these data alone.

Disregarding the concepts of timeliness and enjoyableness, which seem to be domains of TV (the entertainment-oriented, electronic medium), these data suggest that newspaper editors and publishers should capitalize on the newspaper's strong suit—thorough *coverage*—and enhance its other perceived major quality, *trustworthiness*. The fact that newspapers were found more trustworthy than TV, yet less accurate, suggests that there is inherent trust in newspapers, but concern about technical errors and inaccuracies. It would be wise to make every effort to substantially reduce such errors.

Finally, TV holds a modest lead over newspapers, among all readers, in perceived objectivity. This may be a recognition of the unique nature of newspapers, unlike TV generally, to endorse issues, ideas and individuals. If this assumption is valid, enhancing the perceived objectivity of newspapers requires diligent effort. □

Footnotes

[1]See, for example, Eugene F. Shaw, "Newspaper Reading in Small Towns," *ANPA News Research Report*, No. 12, June 9, 1978; Gerald C. Stone, "Using Community Characteristics to Predict Newspaper Circulation," *ANPA News Research Report*, No. 14, September 22, 1978; Lowndes F. Stephens, "The Influence of Community Attachment on Newspaper Reading Habits," *ANPA News Research Report*, No. 17, December 20, 1978; and Robert L. Stephenson, "Newspaper Readership and Community Ties," *ANPA News Research Report*, No. 18, March 9, 1979.

[2]J. C. Fry, "A Comparison of the Effects of Three Telephone Survey Methods on Respondent Characteristics, Response Patterns, and Cost Effectiveness: An Experimental Study." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1978.